

Posvečeno dr. Ljudmili Plesničar Gec



a

EMONA

med Akvilejo in Panonijo
between Aquileia and Pannonia

Zbrali in uredili / Edited by
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KOPER 2012

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Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS

DEDICATIONS TO DIVINITIES FROM THE EPIGRAPHIC COLLECTION IN THE CITY MUSEUM OF LJUBLJANA

ABSTRACT

The City Museum of Ljubljana possesses a small epigraphic collection of inscribed Roman stone monuments, among which there are six interesting dedications to various divinities, and additionally a damaged altar with no inscription preserved. The dedications are a representative sample of religious monuments from Emona, ranging from a local divinity to Graeco-Roman gods and an oriental deity, thus well supplementing the collection of votive monuments from the National Museum of Slovenia. All of them were discovered in Ljubljana. They include a base for a statue of Aecorna, as well as altars erected to Asclepius, Jupiter, Jupiter Conservator, Mercury, and a dedication to Sarapis.

Key words: Emona, Roman period, City Museum, votive monuments, deities (Aecorna, Asclepius, Jupiter, Mercury, Sarapis)

Ključne besede: Emona, rimska doba, Mestni muzej, votivni spomeniki, božanstva (Ekorna, Asklepij, Jupiter, Merkurij, Sarapis)

The City Museum of Ljubljana possesses a small epigraphic collection of inscribed Roman stone monuments, including six interesting dedications to various divinities (all from Ljubljana), and additionally a damaged altar with no inscription preserved. These are a base for a statue of Aecorna, as well as altars erected to Asclepius, Jupiter, Jupiter Conservator, Mercury, and a dedication to Sarapis.¹

Aecorna

The best preserved and certainly the most representative is the dedication to Aecorna on a base for a statue, made of fine-grained marble, which was found in 1971 in the vicinity (?) of the north cemetery of Emona,² and published with a commentary by Jaro and Ana Šašel (fig. 1).³

The inscription reads:

Aecornae Aug(ustae). / P(ublius) Cassius Secundus, / praef(ectus) alae Brit(annicae) milliariae c(ivium) R(omanorum) / bis torquatae. Donis ⁊ donatus bis bello / Dacico ab / imp(eratore) Caesare Nerva / Traiano Aug(usto) Ger(manico) / Dacico ⁊⁹⁰ coronis, vexillis, hastis.

To the venerable Aecorna. Publius Cassius Secundus, the prefect of the ala Britannica of a thousand Roman citizens, twice decorated with a torques. He was twice rewarded by the emperor Ceasar Nerva Trajan Augustus, Germanicus and Dacicus, with crowns, flags, and spears.

The base for a statue was dedicated in the years between 102 (when Trajan was first awarded the title *Dacicus*) and 114 (when the emperor got the title *optimus*, which does not

yet appear in the inscription), most probably between 107 and 110, after Trajan's second Dacian war (103–106). Aequorna or Aecorna, also known as Aecurna was a local goddess, who was worshipped at Nauportus and Emona. The only dedication found outside the Emona Basin was discovered in Savaria (present-day Szombathely); however, it was erected by a community of citizens of Emona, who resided in Savaria (*cives Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savariae; RIU I 135*). It is thus clear that Aecorna was a local divinity, with a sanctuary in the Aquileian *vicus* at Nauportus, as well as in Emona and probably in Savaria. At Nauportus, where the goddess is epigraphically attested already in the mid-first century BC (Šašel Kos, 1999, 47 ff.; Šašel Kos, 1998; Horvat, 1990; Horvat, Mušič, 2007), her name was spelled as 'Aequorna', while in four later dedications she was called Aecorna, and once Aecurna; in one case her name was abbreviated as 'Aec', which may be supplemented both as Aecorna or Aecurna.

The base, on which a statue of the goddess (or, less likely, an object dedicated to her) had once been fixed, was seemingly discovered *in situ*, particularly because remains of a mosaic were also found with it. It is surprising that this was actually the area of the northern cemetery of Emona, in which case the sanctuary of the goddess would have been situated at least in the immediate vicinity of the graves, if not among them. The editors supposed that the find-spot may be interpreted as an architectural complex, possibly dating to the period when graves would not have reached that far north (A. & J. Šašel, 1977, 334–335 [1992, 450–451]). However, graves within the northern cemetery (along the present-day streets Slovenska and Dunajska) were not distributed chronologically in such a manner that the earliest would have been situated closest to the city walls; graves from the beginning of the first century AD have been discovered even further north, along Linhartova, at the very limit of the cemetery area (Plesničar, 1999, 94).

On the other hand, while suburban sanctuaries, temples and shrines were a normal occurrence, they would not be erected among the

1 A short survey in Plesničar Gec, 1999, 66–67.

2 59 x 54 x 23 cm; height of letters: 3–1.5 cm. The find-spot was at the time Titova cesta 36–40, present-day Dunajska cesta (Dunajska Street); inv. no. 1894 (510:LJU; 4:A).

3 A. & J. Šašel, 1977 (1992); *AE* 1980, 496; Šašel Kos, 1999, 49 no. 5, fig. 4; Devijver, 1987, C 97 ter; Fitz, 1993, 278–279, no. 159; Lőrincz, 2001, 175 no. 59.

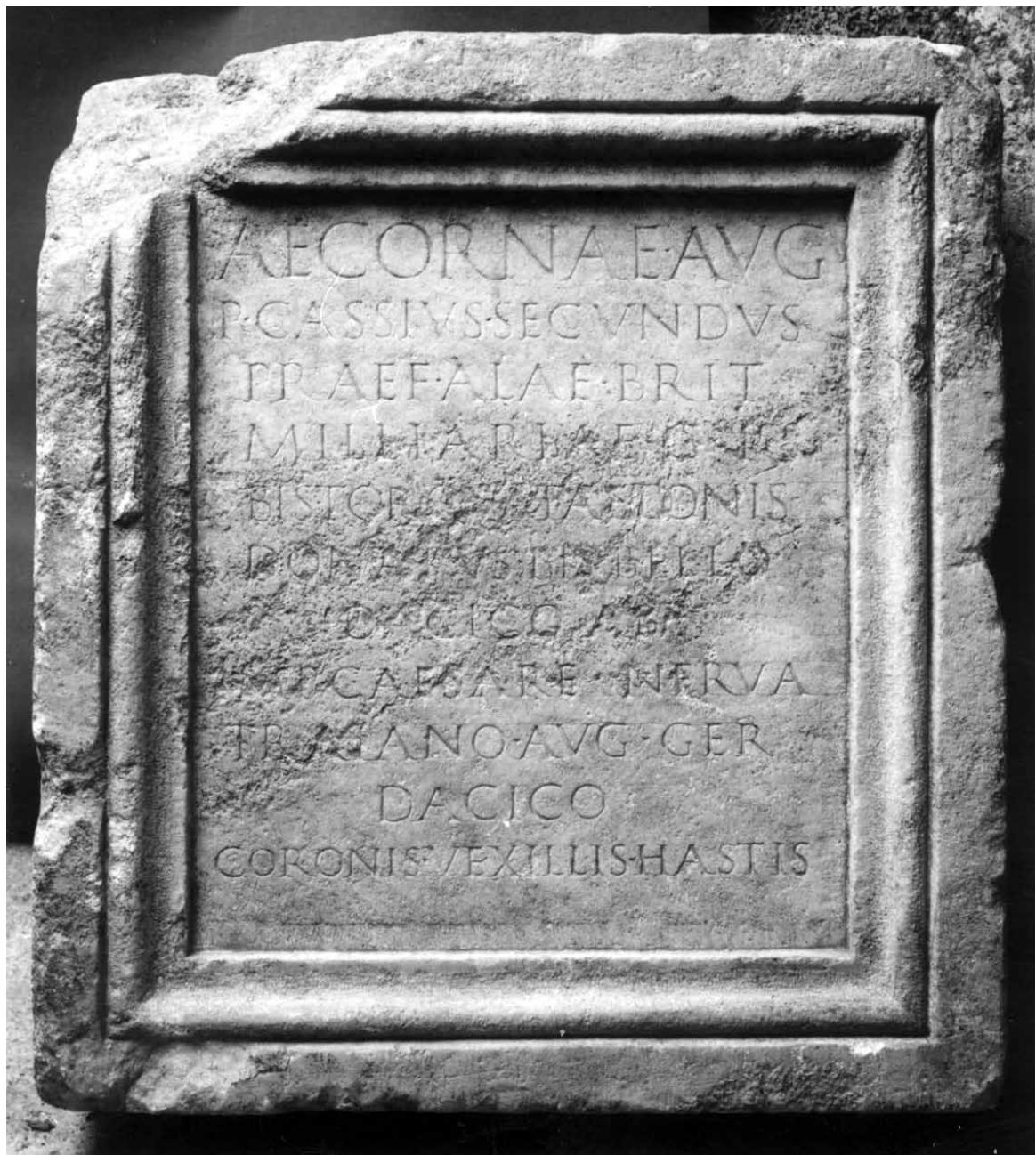


Figure 1: Dedication to Aecorna (Šašel, J. & A., 1977).

graves.⁴ A sanctuary could have stood near a cemetery, and indeed the precise topography of graves and their chronological distribution is not exactly known. Actually, only a very few stone monuments in Emona have been found *in situ*, and it may well be that the base was reused

4 Literature is rare on this subject, see e.g. Castella, 2008, for a different context. Personal communication of William Van Andringa, who kindly drew my attention to this article.

already in late antiquity or in any of the later periods. It would thus seem more probable that the stone was brought from elsewhere to the site of discovery.

It has been proposed that Aecorna was a goddess of commerce and activities linked to crafts, merchants, and artisans, to transporting goods along the river, in short, to business, particularly financial (A. & J. Šašel, 1977, 335 [1992, 451]). The extant evidence indicated that her nature

was more polyvalent. She may have been a mistress of the Nauportus-Emona marshy region, an important local female deity not unlike other powerful Venetic and northern Adriatic goddesses, possibly even connected with funeral rites. Her cult was very popular among members of all social classes, and she was worshipped by the entire community at Nauportus, as well as by the community of the inhabitants from Emona in Savaria (Šašel Kos, 1998, 47 ff.).

The auxiliary cavalry regiment of double strength (i.e. one thousand strong) under the command of Cassius Saecundus was *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata ob virtutem*, that is, composed of Roman citizens and twice decorated with torques for courage. This post was Cassius' third *militia*,⁵ which means that he had already been prefect of a cohort and tribune of a legion. The *ala* is known from several inscriptions and military diplomas; prior to 69 AD it served in Britain and then took part in the Civil war, spending some time in Germany. It may have returned to Britain in 71, although this is not certain; some time in the late 70s or 80s it was transferred to Vindobona in Pannonia, most probably for the Dacian war in AD 85 (Maxfield, 1983, particularly 147 ff.; Lörincz, 1979 [2010]). Perhaps it was awarded citizenship by Domitian after the *expeditio Germanica* in the summer of 89. It stayed in Vindobona until 105 when, together with the legion XIII Gemina, it took part in the Second Dacian war of Trajan (105–106 AD). After the division of Pannonia under Trajan (between 103 and 106 AD; Mócsy, 1974, 92), it was transferred to Pannonia Inferior, where it was stationed at Malata and attested in several military diplomas. In the first Dacian War of Trajan (101–102 AD) it was conferred the decoration *torquata*, and in the second (105–106 AD) *bis torquata* (Strobel, 1984, 107–109; Lörincz, 2001, 16). It is less likely that the *ala* would have acquired the title during

5 It was only under Hadrian that the prefecture of an *ala milliaria* – as opposed to *ala quingenaria* – was introduced as a fourth *militia*, see Maxfield, 1981, 173; differently A. & J. Šašel, 1977, 335 (1992, 451), but see also Devijver, 1987, p. 1491 (C 97 ter).

one of Domitian's campaigns in the late 80s or early 90s.

Publius Cassius Secundus bears rather common names, hence he cannot with certainty be identified with any known homonymous person. There is almost no doubt that he originated from Emona, or else he was closely linked to the city; this would certainly be the most plausible explanation why he erected the monument to Aecorna in Emona. He was the first known prefect of the *ala*, commanding it from 104 to 107 AD; in the years 146–148 its prefect was Titus Varius Clemens from Celeia; two more have been documented to date.⁶ He may have won decorations in both of Trajan's Dacian wars.⁷ When could he have stayed at Emona at the time when he was still prefect of the *ala*? Certainly not before the end of Trajan's second Dacian war in 106 AD. The emperor remained in Dacia well into AD 107, leaving for Rome either in May or June of that year (Strobel, 1984, 219 ff.). Cassius Secundus may have accompanied him, or may have been sent ahead on some special mission, which would not be surprising in view of the high esteem he must have enjoyed in the army.⁸

Despite his non-characteristic names, it seems likely that Publius Cassius Secundus might have been the same person as the procurator P. Cassius [---], who held various procuratorships, of which that in Cappadocia and Armenia is preserved and two others are not. Afterwards, this man was prefect of the fire brigade (*praefectus vigilum*) and of the department supervising the supply of corn (*annona Augusta*; AE 1912, 20 from Cuicul; Devijver, 1976, C 93). That conjecture has also been supposed by H. Devijver, who summarized the commentary of J. and A. Šašel, and even tentatively accepted their suggestion that Publius Cassius Secundus from Emona may have been the same man as

6 Lörincz, 2001, 17: Q. Porcius Potitus in 135 AD, and M. Licinius Victor between 148 and 150.

7 On military decorations see Maxfield, 1981, 67 ff.

8 This has been hypothesized also by A. & J. Šašel 1977, 339 (1992, 456). Perhaps he had already obtained a procuratorship and was on his way to the new destination, as has been suggested by Prof. Božidar Slapšak.

the homonymous governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) in Africa and consul *suffectus* in 138 AD.⁹ However, it seems much more probable that the latter was the son of the procurator and worshipper of Aecorna. Indeed, three generations of Publili Cassii should be postulated,¹⁰ with Publius Cassius Dexter Augus[tanus] Alpin[us] Bellicius Sollers Metilius [Nepos Rufin?]us Rutilianus (quaestor in 138 and consul *suffectus* probably in 151) having most probably been the son of the suffect consul of 138 (*PIR² C* 490; Alföldy, 1977, 160; Salomies, 1992, 47; 144). It is most interesting to note that he was inscribed in the voting tribe of Claudia, which was that of Emona (A. & J. Šašel, 1977, 338–339 [1992, 455–456]; cf. Maxfield, 1981, 171 ff.; 241).

Asclepius and Hygia

A rather small altar made of grey limestone, of which only the upper left part is preserved,¹¹ was found immured in the fortified cellar hallways (Kazemate) of Ljubljana castle on Castle Hill. It is now kept in the City Museum of Ljubljana (fig. 2).¹²

The inscription reads:

Ascle[pio et] / Hyg[iae sacr(um)]. / C(aius) Aur[elius] --- / [- - - ?]

Sacred to Asclepius and Hygia. Gaius Aurelius ...

On the basis of the gentilicium, Aurelius, the altar can tentatively be dated to the second half of the second, or the first half of the third cen-

9 Devijver, 1987, p. 1491 (C 97 ter). For P. Cassius Secundus, cos. suff. 138, see *PIR² C* 521; Alföldy, 1977, 87; 137; 204; 220; 247; 268 f.; 324.

10 Kindly explained to me as most plausible by Prof. Anthony Birley, who agrees that the family probably originated from Emona and not from Transpadana, as postulated for P. Cassius Dexter by Salomies, 1992, 144.

11 25 x 22 x 20 cm; height of letters: 4.5–5 cm.

12 Inv. no. 510:LJU;75:A; *ILJug* 1080; Slabe, 1967, 179, 1, fig. 1 (cf. id., *Varstvo spomenikov* 9, 1962–1964, 194); Tiussi, 1999, 158 (II.A.7), fig. p. 213 no. 37. According to *ILJug*, no line seems to be missing at the beginning. Line 3: contrary to Tiussi's opinion, the gentilicium was probably abbreviated.

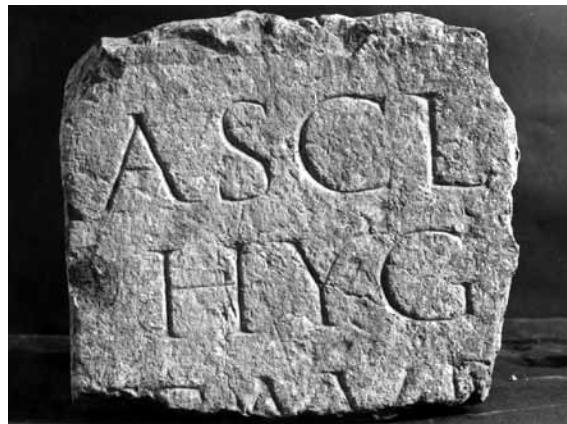


Figure 2: Dedication to Asclepius and Hygia (*ILJug* 1080).

tury AD. The upper part of another limestone altar, dedicated to Asclepius and Hygia, but with no name of dedicatory preserved, is immured in a building of Mestni trg 3 near the entrance door.¹³ The third altar from Emona erected to the god of healing *par excellence* is now kept in the National Museum of Slovenia and is at least a century earlier. The god's name appears here in its Roman, not Greek, form as Aesculapius. The altar was dedicated by a physician Lucius Peticius Technicus,¹⁴ who most probably came to Emona from Aquileia, where the Peticii are well attested.¹⁵ Many of them bore Greek names, which indicate their freedman origin. A surgeon of the Augustan period, Titus Peticius, is known from Lucus at the Fucinus Lacus (*CIL IX* 3895 = Gummerus, 1932, no. 200), and Peticius Technicus could perhaps have been a member of this family (Kudlien, 1986, 20), whose members had emigrated to Emona via Aquileia.

The cult of Aesculapius, often associated with Hygia, his daughter, is very well attested and was clearly popular also in the northern Adriatic area, particularly in Aquileia, in contrast to other Italian regions (Tiussi, 1999, 119 ff.). A serpent and a dog (his healing saliva) were closely related to the cult (Jackson, 1993,

13 *ILJug* 1079: *Asclepio / et Hygiae / [sacr(um) ---]*.

14 *RINMS* 7 (= *CIL III* 3834): *Sacr(um) / Aesculapio / L(uci) Peticius Techni(cus) / med(icus)*.

15 Tiussi, 1999, 125; 156–157, where he erroneously claimed that Emona had belonged to Pannonia until Hadrian, attributing to it the early Tiberian foundation date.



Figure 3: Altar erected to Jupiter (AIJ 154).

142). In Aquileia alone, eight statues and eleven dedications to Aesculapius and/or Hygia have been documented to date; in this respect, the city is second to Rome only. In one inscription it is explicitly stated that the altar was erected in gratitude to the divinity because the health of a person had been restored, *ob valetudinem restitutam*. In all of the Aquileian dedications the name of the god is Aesculapius or Aesculapius, and not Asclepius. The form Asclapius also appears in other northern Adriatic dedications, and notably also in Narona, which was linked by merchants and commercial activities to Aquileia. Any influence from Greece and the Greek East, including the association of the cult of Asclepius and Hygia with theatres (thus notably in Tergeste), must have come to Italy along the Adriatic and not through Illyricum (Tiussi, 1999, 124 ff.).

The revival of the cult could be detected at the time after the outbreak of the epidemic of

pestilence, the so-called Antonine plague, in 166 AD (Buora, 2002; R. J. & M. L. Littman, 1973), when the Roman army returned from the eastern front, and shortly before the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars in 168 AD. At that time Galen, himself a worshipper of Asclepius, stayed for some months (the last months of 168, and the beginning of 169) at Aquileia, and was also active in the city's hinterland and regions closer to the war (Šašel, 1984). However, upon the counsel of the god, Galen returned to Rome to take care of young Commodus, since at Aquileia his life would have been endangered (Jackson, 1993, 60).

Activities of physicians were closely linked to the sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Hygia or Salus, the personification of health. Sanctuaries of healing divinities and curative baths served instead of hospitals, which are attested (almost) only in military camps. Even good doctors never opposed the will of the god, while priests of Aesculapius mainly acted as psychotherapists. The two dedications to Asclepius may indicate that immigrants from the East came to settle at Emona after the Marcomannic Wars.

Jupiter

An altar of Podpeč limestone, from the first or second century AD, was found at Bleiweisova (present-day Prešernova) st. 1, Ljubljana, beyond the Roman city wall, during the construction works for a new house. It was long kept in the garden of that house (Vrtača 3), and was then transferred to the City Museum (fig. 3).¹⁶

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo). / C(aius) Attonius / Carpophor(us) iussus.

To Jupiter, Best and Greatest. Caius Attonius Carpophorus, in accordance with the order (of the God).

This dedication to the supreme Roman divinity is one of the several found in Emona, where altars to Jupiter are the most numerous. Five of those kept in the National Museum

16 Inv. no. 510:LJU;15:A: AIJ 154 (according to Saria, it was kept in the National Museum in Ljubljana). ANSI 190.

of Slovenia were found in Emona, while one was discovered at Ig and is one of only three votive monuments found there (*RINMS* nos. 11–15; 77); the settlement (perhaps a *vicus*) belonged to the *ager* of Emona. Except in Gallia Belgica, the gentilicium Attonius is only sporadically attested (*Nomenclator*, s.v.; *OPEL* I, 91); the cognomen Carpophorus is not very frequent either, except in Gallia Narbonensis (*Nomenclator*, s.v.; *OPEL* II, 38). At Aquileia, neither the gentilicium nor the cognomen have been attested to date.¹⁷

A limestone altar to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Conservator, most probably dated to the first half of the third century AD, was found during the excavations of Emona at Trg revolucije, Ljubljana (*insula XXX*). It is now in the City Museum in Ljubljana (fig. 4; *Plesničar Gec*, 1977, 117, Pl.1; *AE* 1977, 323 = *AE* 1978, 348).

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Conservat(ori). / Fructuosus, / Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum duorum) disp(ensator), / pro salute su(a) / et suo- rum / v(otum) s(olvit).

To Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Protector. Fructuosus, a treasurer of our two emperors, fulfilled his vow for the welfare of himself and his family.

Jupiter's epithet *Conservator* is not particularly rare, but it is nonetheless interesting that an altar from Ampelum (Zlatna) in Dacia was also erected to I. O. M. *Aeternus Conservator* by an imperial dispensator, Callistus (*CIL* III 1301). Jupiter's epithet *Aeternus* may indicate an eastern origin of the dedicator, and the god was perhaps Jupiter Dolichenus. Callistus dedicated another altar to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Conservator at Alba Iulia/Apulum, together with his wife Cornelia, for the welfare of himself and his family (*CIL* III 1085). In this inscription he is described as *Aug. n. verna dispensator*, i.e. a house-born imperial slave. A *dispensator* was an important slave official in the Imperial financial administration, who often had his own slaves (Weaver, 1972, 201 ff.). Fructuosus, too, was an imperial slave specialized in financial matters,

17 Based on the indexes of *Insc. Aquil.*



Figure 4: Altar for Jupiter Conservator (*AE* 1977, 323 = *AE* 1978, 348).

and was in charge of some imperial property in Emona or its *ager*. The two emperors may have been Septimius Severus and Caracalla (AD 197–211; Kienast, 162).

Mercury

A poorly preserved votive altar of crystallized limestone from the third century AD, dedicated to Deus Mercurius, was found in 1916 at Nunska (present-day Veselova) st. 3 in Ljubljana. The stone was discovered during sewage maintenance in the courtyard of the house within a large garden, known as the Stědry Garden, owned by the industrialist J. B. Pollak. A sketch of the exact find-spot, published by J. Mantuani (Mantuani, 1917; Schmid, 1925, 204), is still of value for the micro-topography and can be placed within



Figure 5: Altar for Mercury (AIJ 160).

the ground-plan of Emona, despite the changed surroundings. The altar was found at a depth of 80 cm in the area in the vicinity of the northern town walls of Emona, near the remains of a wall belonging to some Roman building.

It was included by B. Saria in his collection of the Norican and Pannonian inscriptions; he mentioned that the altar had been placed by Pollak in front of the entrance to the house (AIJ 160). When J. Šašel republished the inscribed

monument, he noted that in 1958 it was re-discovered at Vrhnika in private possession, very badly preserved, and was then given to the City Museum in Ljubljana (fig. 5).¹⁸

Deo Mercurio A ugusto. M arcus [A] ur elius / Se renj us, / V[I] vir, vot um / posuit l ibens m erito.

To the venerable god Mercury. Marcus Aurelius Serenus, member of the board of six men, erected his vow willingly and deservedly.

The cognomen Serenus was supplemented by Mantuani on the basis of a lost dedication to Jupiter from Emona, erected by one Marcus Aurelius Serenus, who may or may not have been the same person.¹⁹ The name Serenus is well attested everywhere, particularly in the Celtic speaking regions (Kajanto, 1965, 261; Alföldy, 1969, 294). The institution of the *seviri* was pre-Augustan and was originally not related to the imperial cult; however, it probably served as a paradigm for various organizations of (*seviri*) *Augustales* that began to be created after 12 BC, in accordance with the policy of Augustus to promote collaboration between the different social groups.²⁰ Both the *seviri*, as well as the (*seviri*) *Augustales* (seemingly a more prestigious function; Buonopane, 2003, 345–346), were predominantly freedmen, but not necessarily in all cases. Thus Marcus Aurelius Serenus may have been freeborn, although this would be less likely.

Titus Caesernius Diphilus, a freedman of a certain Titus Caesernius Assupa, was the first known *sevir* from Emona; however, he was not a *sevir* of Emona, but exercised his function at Aquileia. His tombstone is dated to the second half of the first century BC; he may have come on an official mission to Emona, where he settled and had his tombstone erected (AIJ 176

18 Šašel, 1960–61, 190, no. 5, without photo; inv. no. 510:LJU;14:A.

19 CIL III 3839. The inscription was copied by Schönleben.

20 Duthoy, 1978, 1293; Duthoy, 1976. See, for northern Italy, Zaccaria, 2008, 229–233, with all relevant literature cited. See also Tassaux, 2000, for a social position of the *seviri* in northern Italy.

= RINMS 3).²¹ The Titi Caesernii continued to play an important role in Emona:²² at a later date Titus Caesernius Ianuarius was *sevir* at Emona (CIL III 3850 = AIJ 177 = RINMS 47), while Titus Vellius Onesimus exercised various functions in three towns. He was *sevir* at Aquileia, *sevir* and *Augustalis* at Emona, and *Augustalis* at Parentium (CIL III 3836 = RINMS 9). *Seviri* and (*seviri*) *Augustales* often erected altars and even statues to various divinities, and a dedication to Mercury fits in very well with their commercial activities, since as a rule they were rich people. One of their tasks was to organize diverse religious festivities (Šašel Kos, 1999a).

Sarapis

The last inscribed altar from the *lapidarium* of the City Museum, most probably from the second or the third century AD, made of limestone, bears a dedication to Sarapis.²³ According to Thalnitscher, it was discovered in Ljubljana in June of 1715: “In diesem Monat ist ein schönes antic Monument, als die f. f. Ursulinerinnen die Basteyen vor dem Vizdomthor abzubrechen continuirten, entdeckt worden”. For many years the stone, published by Mommsen in CIL, was missing;²⁴ it was rediscovered as late as 1986, when an old house at Karunova st. (Trnovo) was demolished.

The original find-spot of the inscribed monument was in the vicinity of the Ursuline church, not far from the northern town wall of Emona. This may well be the same area, where an altar to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, was discovered in 1898, which was said to have been found

21 Also listed in Buonopane, 2003, 353, who collected all Aquileian *seviri* and (*seviri*) *Augustales*.

22 On the Caesernii, see Šašel, 1960; Zaccaria, 2006.

23 Dimensions: 83 x 54 x 41 cm; height of letters: 6 cm. Inv. no. 510: LJU; 2:A

24 CIL III 3842 (from Thalnitscher, *Annales urbis Labacensis*, in manuscript) = SIRIS 651 = Selem, 1980, p. 4 no. 2 = Selem, 1997, 124 = Selem, 2008, 105 no. 34 = RICIS 2, 613/101; Cf. also Müllner, 1879, no. 183. Premerstein, 1902, Bbl. 30, no. 40; c.18 he expressed doubts about the inscription being authentic, which, however, are not justified.

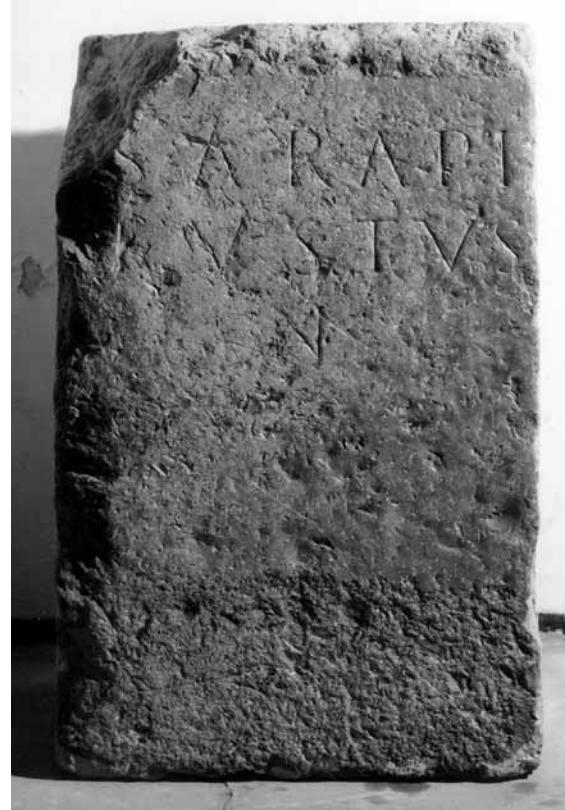


Figure 6: Altar erected to Sarapis (CIL III 3842).

in the ruins of the garden wall of the Ursuline convent (*gefunden in der Gartenmauer des Ursulinerinnenklosters in Laibach beim Abtragen derselben; RINMS 12*). Obviously, the Sarapis altar was reused at some time after 1715 for building the house at Karunova st., located some 300 m from the southern town wall of Emona. M. Budischovsky, who visited the City Museum soon after its rediscovery, identified the monument as the dedication to Serapis, published in the CIL III. She was the last to comment on it exhaustively, however, her text remained unpublished (fig. 6).²⁵

Sarapi. / Iustus / N(?).

To Sarapis. Iustus (had the altar erected). N?

The god is invoked as Sarapis and not Serapis, as is erroneously transcribed in the CIL (following Thalnitscher's manuscript) and also

25 Budischovsky, unpublished; cf. Budischovsky, 2004, particularly 176, where, however, she does not mention the worship of Sarapis at Emona.



Figure 7: Badly preserved altar with no inscription.

in the text of Budischovsky and all subsequent publications. The letter in the last line is uncertain, but seems to be *N* rather than *M*. However, the interpretation is not clear for either; if *M* were preferred, it could be supplemented as *m(erito)* or *m(iles)*. *N* may perhaps be supplemented as *n(oster)*, i.e. Iustus, our slave, since P. Selem regarded him as a slave (Selem, 1980, 35; id. 1997, 124; 157–158). However, as Budischovsky, citing I. Kajanto, observed, the cognomen, which was frequent among the freeborn, even among the Roman nobility, is rarely attested among slaves (Kajanto, 1965, 68, 133, 252; Budischovsky, unpublished, p. 2). She proposed *N(umini)* as the most plausible interpretation, but also suggesting *n(auta)*, since an association of boatmen (*collegium naviculariorum*) existed in the town (RINMS 46), where also a soldier of the Pannonian navy is documented (RINMS 44). On the other hand, while Numen Sarapis or Serapis is attested in several cases, the separa-

tion between the name of the god and the word *Numen* has nowhere been documented to date. It must thus be concluded that the interpretation of the letter (*N* or *M*) remains problematic.

The form of the god's name, Sarapis, is less often documented than Serapis, which was commonly in use in northern Italy and in Pannonia.²⁶ The cult of Isis and Serapis is particularly well attested in Poetovio (*SIRIS* 654–660; *RICIS* 2, 613/0301–0307), where a sanctuary of Isis flourished at Spodnja Hajdina in the second and third centuries AD (Saria, 1937; Horvat et al., 2003, 174–175). In Aquileia, the god (as Serapis) was invoked on three dedications, once together with Isis,²⁷ and the worship of Isis is also well attested. Isis, who became one of the leading goddesses in the Mediterranean world, was increasingly worshipped as a polyvalent deity, often invoked as the goddess 'of countless names' (*myrionyme*),²⁸ as, for example, also at Poetovio (*CIL* III 4017 = *SIRIS* 656 = Selem, 1980, p. 12 no. 16 = *RICIS* 2, 613/0303).

The altar to Sarapis is so far the only certain evidence for the worship of Sarapis/Serapis in Emona, where also no dedication to Isis or any other Egyptian god has yet come to light. However, some objects have been found in Emona that may be associated with the worship of the Egyptian divinities, such as two ceramic moulds for cakes (Selem, 2008, 99–101), probably eaten during the New Year celebrations. Public vows (*vota publica*) were made on 3 January and were closely related to the cult of Egyptian gods because of festive processions, which greatly appealed to people's sentiments and taste, promoting loyalty to the emperors. The habit of making cakes was also well spread in the Danubian provinces (Alföldi, 1965–1966, 65 ff.). On one mould, Isis and her son Harpocrates are depicted, and on the other

26 Inscriptions are collected in *SIRIS* and *RICIS*.

27 *Inscr. Aquil.* 268 (the name of the god, invoked together with Jupiter and Sol, is fragmentary); 329 (to Serapis and Isis, by Calpurnia Zosime); 330 (as *Deus Magnus*).

28 On the cult of Egyptian divinities in the Roman West, see Bricault (ed.), 2004, on their worship in the Danubian provinces, Vidman, 1989.

they are represented together with Anubis.²⁹ Interestingly, on a bronze medallion of Comodus from Rome, issued on the occasion of the New Year offerings, Sarapis is depicted on a boat (Alföldi, 1965–1966, 56, Pl. 2. 4). Egyptian divinities were not only linked to seas and harbours, but also to rivers; this may have been the case at Emona. Clearly, there must have been many merchants among the worshippers of Sarapis (cf. also Siekierka, 2008). The small bust of Sarapis, however, which is kept in the National Museum of Slovenia, was not found at Emona, but originates from a private collection.³⁰

The head of Jupiter Ammon is depicted on some lamps (Petru, 1972, Pl. 46 no. 674, Pl. 98 no. 9), and a funerary clay cone (25 x 7.5 cm) of an Egyptian from the New Empire was discovered in 1889 at Emona, in the context of Roman remains near the city walls at a depth of two metres. It bears an inscription composed of hieroglyphs, reading in translation: *Osiris, a servant of Amon. Pa-wah, the blessed one* (“real of voice”, i.e. whose deeds were justified). The deceased *Pa-wah*, who was a priest of Amon, bore a name typical of the period of the New Empire (18th to 19th dynasties, from ca. 1550 to 1190 BC).³¹

Two cones identical to this one are known from Orléans and Venice, but these were imported to Europe as antiquities in the modern age. The one from Venice was made in the same mould as that from Emona. It is interesting that the cone from Emona was clearly acquired from Egypt in the Roman period, possibly by a merchant or a soldier; it represented either a talisman with magical powers or a souvenir from

the distant land along the Nile.³² In the nearby Noricum, Isis was worshipped already in the first century AD as Isis Noreia, mainly by state officials (Vidman, 1989, 978 ff.; Hainzmann, 2006); this was probably due to special devotion to Isis by the Flavian dynasty. In Pannonia, on the other hand, the cult of Egyptian divinities is attested mainly after the Marcomannic wars (Vidman, 1989, 981ff.).

The last altar of the Roman period in the City Museum of Ljubljana is damaged, the inscription surface is badly corroded, with no inscription visible. Merely possible traces of letters can be detected; perhaps a *decussis*, an X-shaped mark, could be discerned (fig. 7). The altar may be unfinished.

The dedications, discussed in the paper, are a representative sample of religious monuments from Emona, ranging from a local divinity to Graeco-Roman gods and an oriental deity, thus well supplementing the collection of votive monuments from the National Museum of Slovenia and specifically from Emona.

Acknowledgement

My thanks are due to Dr. Milan Lovenjak, who kindly read my text with helpful critical eyes, to Prof. Božidar Slapšak, for several emendations and corrections, and to Alan McConnell-Duff for having corrected my English.

29 Alföldi, 1965–1966, 66 ff.; Pl. 7. 2; 8. 4; see also 14. 2; Selem 1980, p. 5 no. 4, Pl. 1 (Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates); Selem 2008, 99–101 nos. 30 and 31 (both moulds).

30 Perc, 1974, fig. 75: from the collection of Egyptian antiquities of Jožef Švegel, inv. no. 8176. I am indebted to Tomo Kajfež for this information.

31 Komorzynski, 1961, 63–76; Selem 1980, p. 3–4 no. 1.; Selem, 1997, 123–124 no. 8.1; Selem, 2008, 174–175 no. 115. For the chronology, cf. also Eder & Renger (eds.), 2004, 38–40.

32 Selem, 1997 and 2008, *ibid.*, with literature. A similar cone is also kept in the Ethnographic Museum of Slovenia, brought to Ljubljana by a Slovenian missionary, Komorzynski, 1961, 76–79.

POVZETEK

Posvetila božanstvom iz Lapidarija Mestnega muzeja v Ljubljani

Mestni muzej v Ljubljani ima manjši lapidarij, ki hrani poleg drugih kamnitih spomenikov tudi šest zanimivih posvetil različnim božanstvom; sedmi oltar pa je zelo poškodovan in je brez napisa oz. napis ni več viden. Božanstva, ki so jim spomeniki posvečeni, so Ekorna, Asklepij, Jupiter, Jupiter Varuh (Conservator), Merkurij in Sarapis.

Ekorna

Posvetilo boginji Ekorni je vklesano na bazi za kip (ki ni ohranjen), in se v prevodu glasi (sl. 1): Vzvišeni Ekorni. Publij Kasij Sekund, prefekt Britanske jezdne enote (ale) tisoč rimskih državljanov, dvakrat odlikovane z ovratnicami (torkvesi). Sekunda je cesar Nerva Trajan Avgust, zmagovalec nad Germani in Dačani odlikoval z venci, zastavicami in kopji.

Spomenik je bil postavljen zelo verjetno med leti 107 in 110, po Trajanovi drugi dačanski vojni (103–106). Ekvorna oz. Ekorna (tudi Ekurna) je bila lokalna boginja, ki so jo že v drugi polovici 1. stoletja pr. Kr. častili v Navportu, kjer je na enem od napisov omenjeno njeno svetišče; največ njenih spomenikov je bilo najdenih v Emoni (doslej so znani štirje). Ohranjeno pa je tudi posvetilo Ekorni iz Savarije (zdaj Szombathely), kjer jo je počastila skupnost prebivalcev iz Emone, ki so bili naseljeni v tem panonskem mestu. Svetišče je imela nedvomno tudi v Emoni, vendar ni znano, kje, ker nobeno od posvetil verjetno ni bilo najdeno in situ. Baza iz lapidarija Mestnega muzeja je bila izkopana v območju severne nekropole; svetišče, ki bi v tem primeru stalo izven mestnega obzidja, bi morda utegnilo izvirati iz časov, ko grobovi niso segali tako daleč, verjetneje pa je, da kamen ni bil najden v prvotni legi, ampak je bil ponovno uporabljen že v pozni antiki ali v poznejših obdobjih. Ekorna je dolgo veljala za zavetnico trgovine in obrti, predvsem za boginjo trgovcev in poslovnežev, ki so se ukvarjali s prevažanjem blaga po reki, vendar ohranjeni spomeniki kažejo, da so verniki v njej videli zavetnico njihovega blagostanja, boginjo prostora, kjer so prebivali. Morda je bila zavetnica Barja in z njim povezanega življenja; barje je vsekakor dalo pečat obema naselbinama, tako akvilejski vasi v Navportu kot Emoni. Ekorna je bila očitno pomembna lokalna boginja podobna mogočnim venetskim in severnojadranskim boginjam, na kar lahko sklepamo iz dejstva, da jo je v Navportu častilo vse prebivalstvo z obema vaškima županoma na čelu, v Savariji pa prav tako celotna emonska skupnost. V Emoni so bila najdena posvetila, ki so jih postavljali pripadniki vseh slojev, tudi člani mestne in vojaške elite, na kar zgovorno kaže posvetilo Kasija Sekunda.

V napisu omenjena Britanska ala je bila pred letom 69 po Kr. nameščema v Britaniji, nato je bila v času državljanske vojne krajsi čas v Germaniji, v Britanijo pa se je morda vrnila leta 71. Nekaj let pozneje je bila premeščena v Panonijo, v Vindobono, verjetno v času dačanske vojne leta 85 po Kr. Državljanstvo je njenim vojakom verjetno podelil Domicijan po vojaški odpravi proti Germanom poleti leta 89. Leta 105 se je ala pod Trajanom udeležila druge dačanske vojne (105–106). Ko je cesar razdelil Panonijo na dve provinci, je bila premeščena v Spodnjo Panonijo, v Malato. Publij Kasij Sekund je bil zelo verjetno po rodu iz Emone, saj si sicer težko predstavljamo, da bi postavil spomenik lokalni emonski boginji; bil je prvi poveljnik te ale (v letih 104 do 107); odlikovanja je verjetno prejel v obeh Trajanovih dačanskih vojnah. Pozneje je, kot vse kaže, dobil vrsto prokuratorskih služb in opravljal še druge visoke funkcije v Rimu.

Asklepij in Higija

Obema božanstvoma je bil postavljen manjši oltar, vzidan v podzemni hodnik ljubljanskega gradu (sl. 2). Napis se v prevodu glasi:

Posvečeno Asklepiju in Higiji. Gaj Avrelij ...

Glede na gentilno ime Avrelij je oltar verjetno s konca 2. ali iz 3. stoletja po Kr.; v Ljubljani je bil najden še en odlomljen oltarček posvečen Asklepiju in Higiji, vzidan v hišo na Mestnem trgu 3, na katerem ime posvetitelja ni ohranjeno. Zanimivo je, da je na obeh oltarjih ime boga zapisano v grški obliki, Asklepij, kar pomeni, da so posvetitelji verjetno izvirali iz grško govorečega dela imperija. V Narodnem muzeju Slovenije je razstavljen oltar s posvetilom Eskulapiju (latinska oblika imena), ki ga je postavil zdravnik Lucij Peticij Tehnik; ta je v Emono verjetno prišel iz Akvileje, kjer so Peticiji dobro dokumentirani, družina pa se je, kot se zdi, tradicionalno ukvarjala z medicino. Eskulapija so pogosto častili skupaj z njegovo hčerko Higijo, v severnojadranskem območju, posebej tudi v Akvileji, je bil njegov kult priljubljen. Ponovno se je razcvetel po markomanskih vojnah, ko so vojaki z vzhodne fronte zanesli kugo tudi v zahodne province; v tem času se je celo slavni zdravnik Galen, tudi sam častilec Asklepija, nekaj mesecev mudil v Akvileji.

Jupiter

Jupitrov oltar iz podpeškega apnenca je bil odkrit na nekdanji Bleiweisovi, zdaj Prešernovi cesti, torej že izven mestnega obzidja (sl. 3). Napis se v prevodu glasi:

(Posvečeno) najboljšemu in največjemu Jupitru. Gaj Atonij Kaprofor (je dal bogu postaviti oltar) po njegovem ukazu.

To je le eno od številnih posvetil vrhovnemu rimskeemu bogu, ki so bila najdena v Emoni; Narodni muzej Slovenije jih hrani pet, en Jupitru posvečen oltar pa je bil najden na Igu. Gentilno ime Atonij je redko, več primerov je znanih le iz Belgijske Galije; podobno velja za ime (cognomen) Kaprofor (Caprophorus), ki je pogosteješi le v Narbonski Galiji.

V muzejski zbirki je še oltar posvečen Jupitru Varuhu (Conservator), ki je bil odkrit pri izkopavanjih emonske stanovanjske hiše na Trgu revolucije (insula XXX; sl. 4). Napis se v prevodu glasi:

Najboljšemu in največjemu Jupitru Varuhu. Fructuoz, blagajnik dveh cesarjev, je izpolnil zaobljubo za svoje blagostanje in za blagostanje svoje družine.

Jupitra so v rimskem imperiju pogosto častili tudi kot Jupitra Varuha. Blagajnik, ki je bil hkrati tudi oskrbnik (dispensator) cesarskega posestva, je bil suženj, ki je opravljal pomembno funkcijo v cesarski finančni službi in je imel pogosto zaposlene tudi svoje sužnje. Cesarja, ki sta na napisu omenjena, sta bila verjetno Septimij Sever in Karakala (197–211 po Kr.).

Merkurij

Slabo ohranjen oltar iz 3. stoletja po Kr. je bil najden leta 1916 v Nunski, zdaj Veselovi ulici, med vzdrževalnimi deli na mestni kanalizaciji; dolgo časa je bil v privatni lasti, nekaj let celo na Vrhniki (sl. 5). Napis se v prevodu glasi:

Vzvišenemu bogu Markuriju. Mark Avrelij Seren, član odbora šestih mož je izpolnil zaobljubo rad in po pravici.

Seviri, člani odbora šestih, so bili v času imperija tesno povezani z organizacijo cesarskega kulta, velikokrat so se imenovali tudi seviri Augustales, vendar funkciji pogosto nastopata tudi ločeno, zato ju ne smemo enačiti; cesarski kult je imel zelo razvejano administracijo, njeni člani pa so bili predvsem osvobojeni.

Sarapis

Zadnji oltar z napisom, verjetno iz 2. ali 3. stoletja po Kr. je posvečen Sarapisu. Dolničar, pri katerem je prvič zabeležen, omenja, da je bil najden junija leta 1715 v območju samostana uršulink; dolgo časa je veljal za zgubljenega, ponovno je bil odkrit leta 1986 na Trnovem, očitno v drugotni legi (sl. 6). Napis se v prevodu glasi:

Sarapisu. Just (je dal postaviti oltar). N?.

Ime boga je vklesano kot Sarapis (kar je manj pogosta oblika njegovega imena), in ne Serapis, kot je napačno zapisano pri Dolničarju in v Korpusu latinskih napisov. Razlaga zadnje črke N je enigmatična, morda bi jo lahko imeli za kratico N(oster), namreč naš Just, v smislu »naš suženj«, ali pa bi jo morali dopolniti kot N(umini), kar bi pomenilo »božanstvu«, vendar besedi Numen in Sarapis vedno nastopata skupaj, nikdar ločeno. Kult Izide in Serapisa je bil posebej razširjen v

Petovioni, kjer je bilo odkrito tudi Izidino svetišče v Spodnji Hajdini, v Emoni pa je ta oltar edini spomenik njegovega kulta in tudi čaščenje Izide v mestu (še) ni dokumentirano. Pač pa je bilo najdenih nekaj predmetov, ki pričajo o večji prisotnosti egiptovskega kulta v Emoni, tako npr. modela za kolače, ki so jih pekli v novoletnem času; na enem sta upodobljena Izida in njen sin Harpokrat, na drugem pa skupaj z njima še Anubis. Zanimiv je tudi glinast grobni stožec iz druge polovice 2. tisočletja pr. Kr., z napisom v hieroglifih (Oziris, Amonov služabnik. Pa-wah, blagoslovljen, pravih besed), ki je bil najden leta 1889 v Emoni v sklopu rimskih ruševin na globini dveh metrov, torej ga je kak trgovec ali vojak že v antiki prinesel iz Egipta kot talisman ali spominek.

Zadnji oltar je poškodovan, morda ni bil do konca izdelan, na njem je opazen le ostanek črke ali znaka, nekoliko podoben črki X (sl. 7).

Posvetila, ki so komentirana v prispevku, predstavljajo značilen vzorec votivnih spomenikov, ki so bili najdeni v Emoni. Med njimi je posvetilo lokalni emonski boginji Ekorni, zastopana je vrsta grško-rimskih bogov od Jupitra do Merkurija, ne manjka pa tudi posvetilo enemu tako imenovanih vzhodnih božanstev, namreč egiptovskemu bogu Sarapisu. Ti spomeniki lepo dopoljujejo zanimivo zbirko rimskih kamnitih spomenikov z napisi, ki jo hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AE - *L'Année épigraphique*.

AIJ - Hoffiller, V., B. Saria: Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien, Heft I: Noricum und Pannonia Superior. Zagreb, 1938.

ANRW - Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.

ANSI - Arheološka najdišča Slovenije [Archaeological Sites of Slovenia]. Ljubljana, 1975.

CIL - Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.

ILJug - Šašel, A. & J.: *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 5). Ljubljana, 1963. *Iudem: Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 19), 1978. *Iudem, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25). 1986.

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*PIR*² - Prosopographia Imperii Romani (second edition).

RICIS - Bricault, L.: Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (RICIS). 3 vols. Paris, 2005.

RINMS - Šašel Kos, M.: The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (Situla 35). Ljubljana, 1997.

RIU - Römische Inschriften Ungarns.

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